

# On deverbal adjectives with *-tá-* and *-ná-* in the Ṛgveda

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It is a common opinion that Old Indo-Aryan verbal adjectives built with the suffixes *-tá-* and *-ná-* are functionally equivalent. Both would express the verbal action which has manifested itself on the subject: “[d]ie Form auf *ta* wird einem Nomen beigelegt, um anzuzeigen, dass die Handlung des Verbums an ihm zur Erscheinung gekommen ist. Dem Sinn des Verbums gemäss übersetzen wir es bald activisch bald passivisch” (Delbrück, 1888, 382). The selection of one suffix in spite of the other correlates with the phonological shape of the verbal root: especially in post-ṛgvedic times, forms with *-ná-* favour roots ending with *d* and *r̄* (i.e. *ūr, īr*), and frequently roots ending with long vowel and palatals (cf. Wackernagel and Debrunner 1954, 726–730; Gotō 2013, 139). However, since *-tá-* can also attach to all the types of Auslaute just mentioned, it would be incorrect to consider *-ná-* as a real allomorph. In any case, well known is the expansion of the adjectives with *-ná-* at the expense of those with *-tá-*, this process commencing already in the later books of the Ṛgveda (e.g. RV I–IX+ *jahitá-* ‘verlassen, verstoßen, aufgegeben’ vs. RV X+ *hīná-* ‘verlassen’ [post-RV ‘ermangelnd, zurückbleibend’]; RV+ *sattá-* ‘niedergelassen, gesetzt’ vs. AV+ (*á*)*sanna-* ‘hingestellt, nahe, benachbart’).

The present paper takes the chronological layering of the Ṛgveda as its starting point for an investigation into the problem of the functional equivalence of both suffixes. On the one hand, an analysis of the verbal adjectives contained in the family books will try to shed light on possible differences in their usage. On the other hand, a comparison with data from the later books will try to establish whether the weak verbal value of some formations with *-ná-* – as advocated, e.g., by Renou (1952, 307): “[l]a valeur proprement verbale est souvent peu nette” – is a recent development within the Indo-Aryan linguistic history or it is, rather, the original one. Theoretical concepts like time stability and the non-discreteness of word classes (cf. Sasse 2001 on scalarity between nouns and verbs) will help elucidating the problems at issue.

## References

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